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Titzmann, P F ; Sonnenberg, K

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Adolescents in conflict: Intercultural contact attitudes of immigrant mothers and adolescents as predictors of family conflicts

Peter F. Titzmann[1] & Katharina Sonnenberg[2]

[1] University of Zurich, Switzerland

[2] FernUniversität in Hagen, Germany

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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Peter F. Titzmann, University of Zurich, Jacobs Center for Productive Youth Development, Andreasstrasse 15, CH-8050 Zurich, Switzerland; Email: titzmann@jacobscenter.uzh.ch, Phone: +41 (0) 44 634 06 09, Fax: +41 (0) 44 634 06 99

Abstract

Recent research demonstrates that intergenerational differences in immigrant families' adaptation can be detrimental for family functioning. However, most of the findings originate from immigrant groups in North America who face different situations compared to European Diaspora returnees. This comparative study investigated whether ethnic German Diaspora immigrant adolescents' and mothers' disagreement about the desirability of adolescents' intercultural contact with native peers relates to more conflict in the family domain. In addition, we accounted for general developmental factors predicting family conflict by considering adolescents' background in terms of prosocial behavior and hyperactivity. Participants comprised 185 Diaspora immigrant mother–adolescent dyads from the former Soviet Union living in Germany (adolescents: mean age 15.7 years, 60% female) and 197 native German mother–adolescent dyads (adolescents: mean age 14.7 years, 53% female). Results indicated a similar level of family conflict in immigrant and native families. However, conflict was elevated in those immigrant families disagreeing on intercultural contact attitudes, independent of the significant effects of adolescents' background of prosocial behavior or hyperactivity. Our study highlights potential side effects in the family domain, if immigrant adolescents and parents disagree in their attitude regarding adaptation to the host culture's life domains, such as contact with native peers.

Keywords: intergenerational acculturative dissonance, family conflict, adolescent immigrants, contact attitudes, acculturation

Adolescents in conflict: Intercultural contact attitudes of immigrant mothers and adolescents as predictors of family conflict

Immigrant adolescents are a large and growing share of modern multicultural societies' populations. Adolescent immigrants face both normative challenges of growing up (biological, social and psychological changes) and additional acculturation-related challenges. Adolescents' families can help them in coping with these challenges by providing intergenerational support and solidarity (Albert, Ferring, & Michels, 2013; Roberts, Richards, & Bengtson, 1991). Nevertheless, research has shown that immigrant families can also be a source of intergenerational tension and conflict (Birman, 2006; Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008; Hwang, Wood, & Fujimoto, 2010; Telzer, 2011), which is known to increase the likelihood of adolescent long-term maladjustment (Laursen & Collins, 1994). Hence, family conflict in immigrant families has become a major issue of immigration research. One source for such family conflict in immigrant families is the intergenerational difference in the pace of cultural adaptation, called intergenerational acculturative dissonance. Intergenerational acculturative dissonance is assumed to exacerbate normative intergenerational conflict levels because it relates to additional parent–child differences in values, interests, and language (Telzer, 2011).

However, a recent overview on research studying acculturative dissonance and its effects showed that 90% of all studies were conducted in North America and only about 10% in other parts of the world. Although some European studies started to address this topic (e.g., Albert et al., 2013), more research is needed given the specific immigrant situation in Europe. This particularly concerns research on Diaspora migrants, which is a recent and especially prominent immigration phenomenon in many European countries (Tsuda, 2009). Diaspora migrants differ substantially from traditional immigrant groups. A particular difference is that they lived in a Diaspora 'where, over lengthy time periods, they maintained their own distinct communities and dreamed of one-day returning to their ancient home' (Weingrod & Levy, 2006, p. 691). Diaspora migrants thus share ethnic, cultural, and/or religious roots with the

receiving society and often also face beneficial immigration conditions, such as immediate citizenship upon arrival and social benefits. In addition, Diaspora migrants often do not differ in physical appearance (e.g., skin color) from the majority of the population. Research on these groups is still scarce and it is an open question whether Diaspora migrant groups undergo similar processes of adaptation. In particular, it is of interest, whether the intergenerational acculturative dissonance often found in North American immigrant samples can also be identified in Diaspora immigrant groups in Europe, and whether such a dissonance would also result in elevated levels of family conflicts. Examining these questions was the major aim of our study.

Family conflict and intergenerational acculturative dissonance

Generational differences in acculturation between adolescents and their parents have been demonstrated repeatedly. Wu and Chao (2011), for example, found that Chinese adolescents reported a greater discrepancy between perceived and ideal parental warmth than their European American same-aged peers, and that this intergenerational discrepancy can undermine adolescents' psychosocial functioning. Similar results were obtained in other studies using different variables and outcomes (for an overview see Telzer, 2011). With regard to family conflicts, an intergenerational acculturative dissonance was found to be associated with higher levels of conflict among Cambodian and Vietnamese families in the USA (Choi et al., 2008), and parent-child differences in heritage language competence predicted higher levels of conflict among immigrant families from the former Soviet Union to the USA (Birman, 2006), as examples. A likely mechanism for these results is that acculturative dissonance reduces effective parenting strategies, such as monitoring and inductive reasoning (Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, & Moon, 2009) so that normative conflict levels exacerbate. In a similar vein, one of the rare European studies found mother-daughter value similarity to be associated with greater intergenerational solidarity among Portuguese families in Luxembourg (Albert et al., 2013). Theoretically, these findings support the acculturation

gap-distress model (Telzer, 2011) and the theory of acculturative family distancing (Hwang et al., 2010), both predicting that family relations deteriorate when parents and children acculturate at a different pace and drift apart in terms of values and behavior.

Nevertheless, recent studies show a more differentiated picture. For some measures of adaptation, it was not the adolescents but the parents who scored higher in adaptation to the new context (Telzer, 2011). Birman (2006), for example, found that parents in immigrant families from the former Soviet Union scored lower than their children in their Russian identification. For this reason, it is important to clearly delineate the sphere in which acculturative dissonance is studied (Telzer, 2011). Most research on acculturative dissonance has investigated intergenerational differences in cultural competence or identification with the host or heritage society (Birman, 2006; Telzer, 2011). Acculturative dissonance with regard to intercultural contact attitudes, the sphere of this study, however, has rarely been addressed. Such attitudes are known to be crucial in the understanding of adolescents' inter-ethnic contacts (Titzmann, 2014) and, therefore, deserve more attention. Given the specific situation of Diaspora migrant groups with their cultural or ethnic roots to the host society, this research is even more important, because findings can challenge the generalizability of results obtained in North American research to other contexts and immigrant groups.

Family conflict and adolescents' general developmental background

Research has shown, however, that acculturation-related phenomena, such as acculturative dissonance, have to be viewed against the backdrop of general developmental processes. This is important for avoiding erroneous attributions of normative processes to acculturative phenomena (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chryssochoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012). Thus, when studying adolescence, one has to take into account the specificities of the adolescent years in today's societies. Eisenstadt (2003) described these specificities in terms of adolescents' primary orientation to the dominant culture outside the family, the emulation of cultural images and role models, as well as the increased potential for protest and conflict.

In line with these theoretical arguments, conflicts with parents were found to be rather normative during the adolescent years (Fuligni, 1998; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006).

The above mentioned considerations have two implications. First, a native comparison group is needed to have a reference point for the normative level of conflict in a given society. Second, immigration-unspecific predictors should be considered when predicting family conflict. In this regard, a background of hyperactivity is likely to increase the level of family conflict, because it is associated with more inconsistent parenting behavior and higher family stress (Cussen, Cussen, Sciberras, Ukoumunne, & Efron, 2012). Similarly, a background of prosocial behavior may reduce the level of family conflict, as it is accompanied by higher social skills helping in finding compromises when diverging intergenerational interests occur.

The present study

Based on the theoretical considerations presented above, the following hypotheses guided the current study: first, we assumed that more family conflicts are reported in immigrant compared with native families (H1), because intergenerational disagreements with regard to contact attitudes are an additional source of conflict in immigrant families. Second, we expected higher levels of hyperactivity and lower levels of prosocial behavior to be associated with higher levels of family conflict in both immigrant and native families (H2a and H2b). Finally, we expected that intergenerational intercultural contact attitude disagreement is an additional predictor for higher levels of family conflict among immigrants, independent of hyperactivity and prosocial behavior (H3).

Hypotheses were tested within a group of ethnic German Diaspora immigrants from the former Soviet Union, the largest immigrant population in Germany. More than 2.5 million ethnic German immigrants have moved from the former Soviet Union to Germany since the fall of the ‘Iron Curtain’ in 1989. Although this group was usually well adapted to the Russian mainstream culture (Dietz, 2003), and thus seems to undergo similar adaptation processes as

other immigrant groups, these immigrants differ substantially in their orientation towards the receiving society. ‘To live as German among other Germans’ was an often cited immigration reason for 80% of ethnic German Diaspora immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Germany (Fuchs, Schwietring, & Weiss, 1999). A confirmation of the primarily North American findings on intergenerational acculturative dissonance and family conflict in this sample would be a strong argument for their generalizability. A disconfirmation would show that acculturative dissonance and its implications are specific to certain contexts and/or specific groups.

Besides the variables of interest, we placed importance on accounting for potential third variables that may induce an association between mother–adolescent intercultural contact attitude disagreement, or measures of the developmental background of adolescents and family conflict, for example, by simultaneously affecting both variables. The control variables included in our study were age, gender, education, and length of residence. Age was included as a proxy for the biological, psychological, and social changes in adolescence. Gender was included, because girls may be more similar in attitudes to their mothers than boys. Parental education as well as the adolescents’ academic aspirations (i.e., whether the adolescent aimed to achieve a university entrance certificate or not) were used as indicators for socioeconomic status, which is known to affect a broad range of developmental outcomes. Length of residence was included as a proxy for the acculturative changes that unfold over time in the new country.

Method

Sample

A multi-informant design relying on mothers and adolescents as independent sources of information was used for this study. The focus on mother–adolescent dyads seemed feasible because immigrant as well as non-immigrant adolescents were found to spend more time with their mothers than fathers, and mothers were found to have deeper insights into the

lives of their offspring (e.g., Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009). In addition, adolescents disclose more information to mothers compared to fathers (Smetana et al., 2006), which may instigate more intergenerational discussions and may also be the reason why adolescents report more conflicts with mothers than with fathers, independent of their immigrant or native background (Fuligni, 1998).

Both immigrant and native families were recruited in 2010/2011. Registry offices in three West German cities provided a list of citizens based on country of origin (states of the former Soviet Union or Germany) and adolescents' age (between 10 and 18 years old). Participants were randomly selected from this list and were invited to participate in the study together with their mothers. We invited 665 ethnic German immigrant families from the former Soviet Union and 510 native German families to participate in our study. Of these families, 196 ethnic German immigrant and 203 native German family dyads responded and participated. The response rates were lower among immigrant (30%) compared with native families (40%), a common occurrence in survey research. Reasons for the lower response rates among immigrants include the less reliable registry data for the more mobile immigrant groups and greater reservations when dealing with public institutions, often found in immigrants from states with a less democratic history. Nevertheless, a response rate of 50% is rarely achieved in German survey research (Mohler, Koch, & Gabler, 2003). Mothers and adolescents independently completed their questionnaires and both were offered €10 (approximately US $14) in cash or a voucher redeemable in a variety of shops in the participating cities. The questionnaires of mothers and adolescents were matched by a code that only the mothers and adolescents could have provided (based on letters of names and numbers of birth dates). In the present study, 11 immigrant and six native dyads with single mothers were excluded because the relationship between single mothers and their children may differ substantially from other families. The final sample therefore consisted of 185

immigrant and 197 native German dyads. All participating immigrant adolescents were first generation immigrants with an average residence in Germany of 9.7 years.

Descriptive data for the native and the immigrant group are presented in Table 1. Differences between the two groups were only found for age and school track: on average, immigrant adolescents were one year older than native adolescents. The reason is that the number of immigrants coming to Germany from the former Soviet Union decreased substantially between 2002 and 2009, meaning that the number of older immigrant adolescents in the population is much larger than that of younger ones. Moreover, native and immigrant adolescents came from all tracks of the German school system but immigrant adolescents were over-represented in the lower school tracks, which is not an uncommon situation for immigrants in the German educational system (Baumert & Schümer, 2002).

Table 1 about here

Measures

The questionnaires for immigrant mothers and adolescents were presented in both languages (German and Russian) to enable participants to complete the questionnaire regardless of their language competencies. The comparability of the Russian and German versions was ensured by a translation-back-translation method so that the meaning of items was equivalent across languages.

Conflict. Parent–child conflicts were assessed by the number of mother–adolescent arguments across 10 domains in which mothers have reported experiencing at least occasional disagreements with their adolescent children (Adams & Laursen, 2001): school-related topics, bedtime, time on the phone, watching television, internet use, time on the computer, tidiness of bedroom, pocket money, type of clothes, and friends with whom the child spends their spare time. As in other studies (e.g., Fuligni, 1998), we used a count index ranging from 0 (no

arguments in any of these domains) to 10 (arguments in all 10 domains), to assess the diversity of conflicts across various domains. The same diversity index has demonstrated its validity in earlier research on mother–adolescent relations (Titzmann, Gniewosz, & Michel, 2015). We tested for the equivalence of this index across the immigrant and native sample by means of a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) within a structural equation modeling framework. As the index was based on dichotomous indicators, we used the WLSMV estimator and set up a two-group model. A freely estimated model showed good fit with the data, χ^2 (68, N=379) = 123.37, p<0.01; CFI=0.97, RMSEA=0.07, and fixing the factor loadings to be equal across the groups did not lower the model fit, $\Delta\chi^2$ (9, N=379) = 11.38, p=0.25. Thus, the measurement structure of the index on family conflicts can be considered equivalent across the two groups.

Intercultural contact attitudes. These attitudes were only assessed in the immigrant group and refer to immigrant mothers' and adolescents' ratings on the desirability of adolescents' having contact with native peers. The assessments were based on a well-known instrument on acculturation orientations (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000), which was adapted slightly for the purpose of this study. The mean of three items was used in the analyses: adolescents reported their agreement using a six-point Likert scale (ranging from 1=does not apply to 6=does apply) on the following items referring to intercultural peer contacts: 'I enjoy social activities with native adolescents', 'I would be willing to have a girlfriend/boyfriend who is native German', and 'I can imagine having native German friends'. Mothers used the same answer format and rated items referring to their aspirations concerning their child's intercultural contacts: 'I want my child to enjoy social activities with native Germans', 'I could imagine my child having German friends', and 'I would consent to my child marrying a German'. The reliabilities were α=0.78 for adolescents and α=0.53 for mothers. We can assume that the somewhat lower reliability for mothers did not negatively affect the results because the CFA strongly supported a one-factor structure, χ^2 (12, n=185) = 2.04, p=0.36; CFI

=0.99, RMSEA =0.01 and plausible correlations with other variables were found (see Table 2 for bivariate correlations of all variables).

Prosocial behavior and hyperactivity. Adolescent background with regard to prosocial behavior and hyperactivity were assessed by their mothers based on the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman, 1997). Using a six-point Likert scale from 1 (does not apply) to 6 (does apply), mothers indicated whether their child showed prosocial behavior or hyperactivity during childhood. Prosocial behavior was assessed with five items stating that the child '… helped if someone was hurt, upset or feeling ill', or '… shared with others (food, toys, pens)'. Sample items for hyperactivity were: '… constantly fidgeting or squirming', or '... easily distracted, not concentrating'. The reliability of these scales was α=0.81 for prosocial behavior and α=0.82 for hyperactivity. Again, we tested for measurement equivalence across the two groups by setting up a two-group CFA with maximum likelihood estimation. A freely estimated model showed acceptable fit with the data, χ^2 (44, N=381) = 84.58, p<0.001; CFI =0.94, RMSEA =0.07, and constraining the factor loadings to be equal across groups did not affect the model fit, TRd (df = 8) = 12.85, p=0.12 (TRd is the test statistic of the scaled χ^2-difference test). Thus, the measurement structure of the scales for hyperactivity and prosocial behavior can be considered equivalent across the two groups.

Demographic control variables. Adolescents reported their age, gender, and academic track (whether the adolescent studied in a school type that prepares students for a university entrance qualification). Mothers gave details about their education (ranging from 0 = no degree to 5 = more than one university degree) and length of residence in the new country.

Table 2 about here

Results

All analyses were conducted using a structural equation modeling framework. Missing data were handled using the Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) approach, which reveals robust estimations if missing data do not exceed 25%; in our study, only 1.5% of data points were missing. Hypothesis 1 focused on the mean level difference between immigrant and native adolescents and was tested using a two-group model. More specifically, we tested whether the two groups differed in the level of reported family conflicts (H1) by constraining the mean values of family conflict to be equal in the native and the immigrant sample. A comparison of a freely estimated path model and a constrained model did not reveal a difference between the groups with regard to mean levels, $\Delta\chi^2$ (1, N=382) = 2.08, p=0.15. This result remained unchanged when controlling for hidden heterogeneity related to demographics and the inclusion of developmental background of prosocial behavior and hyperactivity, $\Delta\chi^2$ (1, N=382) = 0.13, p=0.71. Therefore, H1 had to be rejected.

Additional analyses showed that the variance in family conflict was significantly larger in the immigrant sample (VAR =0.60) compared with the native sample (VAR =0.42) after accounting for demographic variables and developmental background, $\Delta\chi^2$ (1, N=382) = 6.02, p<0.05. This indicates that immigrant status does not necessarily translate into an overall higher level of family conflict, but primarily relates to a larger variability. The larger variability may be explained by immigrant-specific predictors such as contact attitude disagreement, which is tested in H3. Another observation relates to the fact that, on average, mothers and adolescents did not differ in their mean level of intercultural contact attitudes (Table 1). Thus, the often described generational gap was not verified in our sample of ethnic German families with regard to intercultural contact attitudes.

Hypotheses testing for H2a, H2b, and H3 were conducted within a hierarchical regression framework. The different variables (controls, general developmental predictors of family conflicts, acculturative dissonance) were entered in three separate steps. Hypotheses 2a and 2b claimed that higher levels of hyperactivity and lower levels of prosocial behavior are

associated with higher levels of family conflict in both immigrant and native families. The data clearly showed these associations (see Step 2 in Table 3) and, hence, Hypotheses 2a and 2b were supported.

Table 3 about here

The third hypothesis predicted that intergenerational contact attitude disagreement is associated with family conflicts in immigrant dyads over and above the general developmental factors for family conflict (H3). To test this hypothesis, an interaction term of adolescents' and mothers' attitudes about contact with native peers was introduced into the model. We followed suggestions of Aiken and West (1991) when calculating and plotting the interactions. As can be seen in Table 3 (Step 3), the interaction of mothers' and adolescents' intercultural contact attitudes was a significant predictor for family conflicts in the immigrant group. Probing the interaction (Figure 1) revealed a non-ordinal interaction, with the highest levels of family conflict found in those families in which mothers and adolescents disagreed with regard to their intercultural contact attitudes. Importantly, this effect was independent of the direction of disagreement. This step explained an additional 4% of variance in immigrant families' conflict, but did not affect any other association. Thus, it was independent from the general developmental issues studied and, accordingly, Hypothesis 3 was supported by the data.

Figure 1 about here

Discussion

This study aimed to investigate intergenerational acculturative dissonance among a group of Diaspora immigrants to Germany. Intergenerational acculturative dissonance was

addressed as mother–adolescent disagreement with regard to the desirability of adolescents' intercultural contact with native peers. In line with many other studies, our results revealed elevated conflict levels in those immigrant families in which mothers and adolescents disagreed in their contact attitudes. However, this was independent of the direction of mother–adolescent disagreement. Moreover, the association was found to be independent of demographics and adolescents' general developmental background in terms of hyperactivity or prosocial behavior, although both these general developmental variables were relevant predictors of family conflict in both groups studied. Overall, we found no confirmation of elevated levels of conflicts in immigrant families compared to natives.

Moreover, we also found no confirmation that, on average, mothers and adolescents differed in their level of adolescents' intercultural contact desirability. This finding is in contrast to the intergenerational acculturative dissonance in culture competence and identification found in various other immigrant groups (Telzer, 2011). At least two explanations may apply: first, research on acculturative dissonance mainly focused on cultural competence, identification, or behavior. Contact attitudes were hardly ever studied and intergenerational differences may be less pronounced in such attitudes. The second explanation refers to the sample studied. Diaspora migrants return to what they believe is their homeland and, thus, may hold different, rather positive, contact attitudes than other migrant groups, because they share cultural and ethnic roots with the host culture. In this specific group, mothers and adolescents may share these attitudes, even long before the actual migration. The missing intergenerational difference between mothers and adolescents in intercultural contact attitudes may also explain why no group differences in levels of family conflict were found, but other concepts for an estimation of acculturative dissonance need to be studied in this particular group for a more thorough conclusion.

These considerations suggest that more comparative research is needed by addressing several immigrant groups across different settings using various indicators for

intergenerational acculturative dissonance both in public and private life domains (Birman, 2006; Telzer, 2011). In addition, this study showed that the inclusion of a native sample as a reference point for immigration studies helps to put immigrants' levels of conflicts (or any other outcome of psychosocial functioning) in perspective and can be recommended for future research. Another point of departure relates to the question of whether higher levels of conflict are detrimental or functional for immigrant adolescents' development. On the one hand, conflicts may undermine the support from parents and may cause additional stress and maladjustment for adolescents (Laursen & Collins, 1994). On the other hand, somewhat elevated levels of conflict may help adolescent immigrants in negotiating their freedom and autonomy from parents (Smetana et al., 2006) and may instigate positive developmental processes.

The study also revealed that a developmental background of high prosocial and low hyperactive behavior is associated with lower levels of family conflict. Both prosocial behavior and hyperactivity have been shown to be relatively stable from childhood to adolescence (Caprara, Barbaranelli, & Pastorelli, 2001; St. Pourcain et al., 2011). Its associations with family conflicts were found in immigrant as well as native families. In general, this result shows that immigration-specific and immigration-unspecific processes co-occur and need to be considered simultaneously to fully understand any developmental outcome among immigrant adolescents. The inclusion of these measures also underscores the robustness of our findings on the effect of mother–adolescent attitude disagreement. The only effect found for the control variables in the final step of analyses regarded an age effect among immigrants. This effect may relate to ethnic German adolescent immigrants' delayed autonomy development and their (in comparison to native adolescents) more intense struggle with their parents in being granted autonomy.

Our study has several strengths, such as the multi-informant dyad approach, the focus on intercultural contact attitudes as a basis for assessing intergenerational acculturative

dissonance, and the inclusion of a native German comparison group. There are, however, also some limitations that should be addressed in future studies. One such limitation is the focus on one immigrant group. Comparative research including other groups in other contexts would be advisable. Another limitation relates to the concurrent associations on which our findings are based. We grounded our predictions on theoretical assumptions about the direction of effects, but in reality, bidirectional effects may also be present. Longitudinal data analyzed with an actor–partner interdependence model could help in future to determine who in a dyad exerts which effect on the other. In addition, we focused on mother–adolescent dyads. As father–adolescent communication and relationships can differ from mother–adolescent communication and relationships (Smetana et al., 2006) future research may not only benefit from including fathers and the examination of gender-specific combinations of parent–child dyads, but also from the inclusion of other family members. Research on dyads, as in our study, is an important step toward such research. Finally, some of our measures were limited. Prosocial behavior and hyperactivity, for example, were assessed retrospectively. Our results showed, however, that the assessment was valid, as correlations with the outcome were meaningful and replicated in both samples, even though these variables were assessed by different informants (child characteristics by mothers, conflicts by adolescents). Another issue regarding our measures was the somewhat low internal consistency for mothers' intercultural contact attitudes. A potential solution would be to assess this construct using more items. According to the Spearman–Brown formula, which describes the relationship between instrument length and consistency, an increase to six items would have increased the reliability to alpha =0.69. Nevertheless, a CFA and substantive correlations supported the validity of our instrument.

Many primarily North American studies showed an intergenerational acculturative dissonance in immigrant families and its association with several outcomes of family and adolescent functioning, such as family conflict. Our study corroborated earlier findings,

particularly the association of acculturative dissonance with higher levels of family conflict. This association existed independently of general predictors of family conflict. Contrary to earlier research, however, a significant difference in intercultural contact attitudes between mothers and adolescents was not found. Whether this is explained by the specific immigrant group studied or the intergroup contact attitudes as a basis for estimating acculturative dissonance remains a question for future research. Nevertheless, contact between immigrants and natives can reduce mistrust, discrimination, and prejudice (Pettigrew, 1998), therefore, positive intercultural contact attitudes should be reinforced (Titzmann, 2014). However, our study shows that this reinforcement may have side effects in the family domain if parents do not share their adolescents' attitudes. These side effects should be taken into account when interventions on intercultural attitudes are planned. Two implications are particularly apparent from this research. First, parents and their intercultural contact attitudes should always be included in such interventions. Second, adolescent immigrants need to develop skills that help them to cope with the diverging expectations in the home and host cultural contexts. The development of a bicultural identity with a pronounced set of behavioral skills for both cultures may be one step in this direction. In general, these considerations show that acculturation research has to acknowledge that adolescent immigrants live in multiple contexts. Focusing on single contexts, such as the family, peers or school, may overlook important implications in another context. The simultaneous consideration of multiple domains of adolescents' lives has the potential to advance considerably acculturation research and the understanding of immigrant adolescents.

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Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Both Samples

	Natives	Immigrants
Adolescents' age (SD)[a]	14.7 (2.5)	15.7 (2.7)
Adolescents' gender (% female)	53	60
Parental education (SD)	2.8 (1.5)	2.6 (1.3)
Adolescent educational track (% academic track)[a]	46	29
Length of residence (SD)		9.7 (4.2)
Conflicts (SD)	2.3 (0.7)	2.4 (0.8)
Prosocial behavior (SD)	5.1 (0.9)	5.1 (1.2)
Hyperactivity (SD)	2.1 (1.4)	2.3 (1.4)
Mothers' willingness for adolescent intercultural contact (SD)		5.0 (1.0)
Adolescents' willingness for intercultural contact (SD)		4.8 (1.3)
N (dyads)	197	185

Note. [a] Means or percentages of these variables are significantly different between the native German and the immigrant sample ($p<0.01$).